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LETTER

TO THE ENGLISH NATION,

ON THE

PRESENT WAR WITH AMERICA;

WITH A

REVIEW of our MILITARY OPERATIONS in that COUNTRY;

AND A

SERIES of FACTS never before published,

From which the abſolute Impoſſibility of reducing the COLONIES will ſufficiently appear, and the Folly of continuing the CONTEST demonſtrated.

WITH A

Prefatory Addreſs to SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, Bart.

By an OFFICER returned from that Service.

This is no Seaſon for Compliments.

LONDON:

Printed for G. CORRALL, No. 6, Catherine-ſtreet, Strand; and ſold by J. BEW, in Pater-noſter-row; and J. WILLIAMS, in Fleet-ſtreet.

MDCCLXXVII.

[Price Two Shillings.]

BRITISH
MUSEUM

TO

SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, BART.

SIR,

IF I was diſpoſed to enter into the detail of your many excellent qualities, or to dwell on your virtues, I ſhould certainly eſcape the imputation of flattery, as you are perhaps the *only* man in the world, of whoſe character mankind have but *one* opinion; and as it is unneceſſary, if not impertinent, to repeat what is ſo univerſally known and acknowledged, I ſhall only entreat you to pardon the liberty taken by an entire ſtranger, in prefixing your name to a political Pamphlet. The dignity of the ſubject is alone ſufficient

to

to engage your attention; and as it is written in the language of truth, it can require no other recommendation to the perusal of Sir GEORGE SAVILLE.

I have the Honour to remain,

With the utmost Respect,

Your most obliged

And most obedient humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

LETTER

A

LETTER

TO THE

ENGLISH NATION, &c.

IF it ſhould ever become a queſtion among the generality of mankind, whether they have *gain'd* or *loſt* by the inſtitution of civil ſocieties? it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a very material reformation would take place in the different governments in the world, and that an attempt, not altogether unſucceſsfully perhaps, would be made to recover thoſe Rights which Providence, in its abundant wiſdom, having beſtowed upon *all*, never intended as the excluſive property of a *few*.

Whether the multitude are not at leiſure to reflect on their abject condition; or whether habit has ren-

dered misery and obedience to the will of others at once necessary and familiar to them, I will not take upon me to determine; but it is certainly to one of these causes that an inconsiderable number of individuals, distributed over the face of the earth, under the titles of Kings, Princes, and Ministers, are indebted for the security they enjoy in their various usurpations.

Our Government has provided the most effectually of all others, against the absolute tyranny and oppression of *one* man; yet that maxim in the English Constitution, that the "*King can do no wrong*," is neither understood as a *matter of fact*, nor received as an *object of faith*. It means nothing more than a respectful attention to the *person* of the first magistrate, and to prevent weak or wicked Ministers from being subservient to any designs *he* may form against the liberties of the people; but our ancestors, great as their attention was to their posterity, have not sufficiently guarded against a more important evil:—An evil from which we have much more to apprehend than from the other, and which alone can destroy the freedom of our Government—I mean the evil of bribery, which establishes in *effect* the despotism of the Prince, upon the authority of Parliament, without destroying the forms of the Constitution, and leaves us no remedy but in an appeal to Heaven.

In ſuch a criſis, the Prince, no doubt, will take advantage of the calamity he has occaſioned, and ſeize the opportunity of effecting a Revolution in favour of himſelf.

I ſay the calamity *he* has occaſioned; for the legiſlature never can be corrupted but by the connivance of the firſt magiſtrate; and whenever the practice of bribery is introduced in the Senate of this country, it muſt be to anſwer purpoſes which are inimical to the rights of Engliſhmen.—Theſe reflections have led me to ſome others on the preſent unhappy war with America; and it will neither be unworthy of my labour or attention, to enquire into the neceſſity of this extraordinary diſpute, in which we are likely to loſe every thing, and to gain nothing.

When I conſider the conduct of the Americans, the magnitude of their offence is loſt in the grandeur of their attempt; and I am more inclined to admire than to condemn them.

It is a conteſt for empire, and with a nation whoſe arms have eſtabliſhed its power at the extremities of the habitable world; yet, as they were the ſubjects of that nation, whoſe ſovereignty they have denied, and to whom obedience was unqueſtionably due, they will not be able to excuſe themſelves for the part they have taken, unleſs the injury they

have received would admit of no other alternative. An inundation of writers have deluged us with arguments on each ſide of the queſtion reſpecting the right of taxation; and, as it generally happens both in religious and political controverſies, they have left their readers as wiſe as they have found them.

We have been told that taxation is ſo immediately connected with repreſentation, that it cannot be ſeparated without deſtroying the very principles of our Government.—This is, at leaſt, the oſtenſible reaſon of the Americans for their attempt at independance; but every power in Europe, I believe, is convinced that it is only a pretext, as we indeed ſhould have been, if it was not our peculiar misfortune never to comprehend our true intereſts, till it becomes too late to preſerve them.

On the other ſide of the queſtion, it has been obſerved, that the idea of taxation and repreſentation being inſeparable, is no longer juſt than while we admit of a fiction in the Conſtitution, which ſuppoſes every man to be repreſented, either *actually* or *virtually*.—This, they ſay, has always been admitted; but it was reſerved for the *ingenuity* of the preſent age to give it a different, or rather a more liberal conſtruction, and to diſcover that our anceſtors had neither *capacity* to underſtand their rights, nor *virtue* to defend them. It has alſo been urged as an argument in favour of the right aſſumed by the Mother Country

Country over the Colonies, that if a man who has neither the privilege of voting himſelf, nor of ſending his repreſentative to vote for him, ſhould deny *obedience* to the laws, or refuſe to pay his *proportion* towards the exigencies of Government, the Magiſtrate would correct him for the *one*, and the Sheriff ſeize his property for the *other*; and that, ſurely, he has a right to both, as well as his fellow-ſubjects beyond the Atlantic.

Has it been reſerved (continue they) for the wiſdom of the Americans, the children of yeſterday, to diſcover that we have lived in error, and in ſlavery, during a ſeries of almoſt ſeven hundred years? And are we to conſider Mr. Adams as our political Saviour, expreſsly ſent by the miraculous interpoſition of Providence, to do away the original ſin of our forefathers, and redeem us from oppreſſion? Away with ſuch inſolence and abſurdity! We no longer live in an age when impoſtors will find their account in abuſing the common ſenſe of mankind!

This is extremely eloquent, I confeſs; and to do them ſtrict juſtice, they have ſaid as much as poſſible upon the ſubject.—Much wit and learning have been diſplayed upon the occaſion, and Invention itſelf would be puzzled to furniſh another argument in favour of Great Britain; but they have unfortunately endeavoured to prove too much, and conſequently

quently have given their adverſaries an advantage which they did not intend.

I agree with them, that the idea of taxation and repreſentation being inſeparable, is no longer juſt than while we admit of a fiction in the Conſtitution, which ſuppoſes every man to be repreſented either actually or virtually; and that in England a man has no right to refuſe his proportion towards the national expences, becauſe he is not *actually* repreſented; but they ſhould have recollected, that this *virtual* repreſentation (which by the bye, to make uſe of their own words, is an inſult on the common ſenſe of mankind) includes thoſe only, who are neither freeholders nor freemen of corporate towns.

Every acre of land in England is abſolutely and *bona fide* repreſented.—The Engliſh freeholder has a ſecurity for his property, and cannot poſſibly be taxed without the right of giving or refuſing his aſſent.—The Americans do not come under this deſcription. They have freeholds which are not repreſented, and yet we preſume to tax them. Here is the hardſhip of which they complain, and with juſtice on their ſide.—The poſſeſſion of land affords them no ſecurity:—It gives them no ſhare in the legiſlature, though, in fact, it ought; and why freehold property ſhould be leſs ſecure in that part of the empire, I leave to the deciſion of thoſe who have recommended coercive meaſures to enforce an oppreſſive

oppreſſive and illegal claim.—A freeholder in Pennſylvania has an equal right to repreſentation with a freeholder in Yorkſhire; and this right cannot be denied without a direct violation of Magna Charta. A different intereſt, we know, has been ſet up in oppoſition to the landed property within this century; and it may probably ſuit the politics of *ſome* men, and the deſigns of *others*, to deſtroy the *former* in favour of the *latter*.—The Crown may levy taxes then at pleaſure.—The ſtockholder becomes benefitted by their increaſe, and cannot be oppreſſed, becauſe all taxes ultimately affect the land.—I have heard, with equal concern and indignation, a Member of the Houſe of Commons * declare, that he wiſhed gentlemen would diſpoſe of their eſtates, and veſt their whole property in the funds.

This declaration proved nothing but his ignorance and proſtitution.—I will not deſcend to an altercation with ſo extraordinary a politician; but I ſincerely adviſe him to be more diſcreet in future, though it is, perhaps, beyond the ordinary powers of Nature to add to his capacity or honeſty.—If his ſyſtem ſhould ever be adopted in this country, it is not impoſſible but that half a dozen Jews may be in a condition to diſpoſe of the nation by public auction at Garraway's.

It

* A Mr. [redacted] ſtarted this extravagant opinion about three or four years ſince in a Debate on the Mortmain Bill.

It is the landed property that we are to regard as the principal bulwark of Engliſh freedom.

It is the grand, and indeed only barrier between the Prince and People, or rather between Liberty and Slavery; and this is not only conſiſtent with my ideas of juſtice, but with the principles of our Government. I am ſenſible it will be ſaid, that the Houſe of Commons cannot be enlarged without altering the Conſtitution; and that any alteration would be dangerous. This is a mere aſſertion againſt matter of fact.—Cheſter is a caſe in point; and as to the danger, none could poſſibly happen to the liberties of the people.—The Crown, indeed, would find it more difficult to corrupt that part of the legiſlature from which it has the moſt to apprehend: and this may, perhaps, be a *ſecret* reaſon why America has not been ſuffered to have a voice in the Senate.

Let us, however, ſuppoſe for a moment, that virtual repreſentation in Europe is one thing, and in America another:—That in the former it is an imaginary bleſſing, invented (as it really was) to delude and amuſe the multitude, who have, indeed, been deceived very artfully into the belief of an abſurdity almoſt as groſs as the infallibility of the Pope. In the latter, we are to conſider it again as a bleſſing, as certain as any natural or political right whatever; and that Lord North as actually repre-

ſents

ſents the freeholders in America as he does the freemen of Banbury in Oxfordſhire.—This, it muſt be confeſſed, is allowing all that even his Lordſhip would require; and yet is very far from affording the ſmalleſt excuſe for his Lordſhip.—We are not only reduced to the neceſſity of arraigning the *Policy*, but the *Juſtice* of his Adminiſtration: and it will, perhaps, appear, that this war has been wantonly began, fooliſhly continued, and, from the melancholy proſpect it exhibits at preſent, may have a fatal concluſion.—Allowing that Great Britain has a right to tax America; yet the *legality* of taxation is one thing, and the *expediency* of it another.—There are ſeaſons in the *political*, as well as in the *phyſical* world; and a gardener would be diſmiſſed for a blockhead, who would tranſplant in our climate a young oak in July; while the Miniſter, who attempts to enforce the execution of an obnoxious law, in oppoſition to the genius and temper of a whole nation reſolved to oppoſe it, would merit death, or at leaſt to be execrated as a conſummate ideot. Neither laws, nor vegetables, ſhould be forced againſt Nature, if it is intended they ſhould be uſeful; and theſe truths are ſo evident, from univerſal experience, that it is really matter of ſerious aſtoniſhment to me, how *Folly* can miſtake, or *Impudence* deny them.—The Stamp Act is ſaid to have been the foundation of this war, which I cannot agree to.—The Stamp Act was, perhaps, the only political error of Mr. Grenville's Adminiſtration;

and this error was ſufficiently corrected by the repeal of the act itſelf. That Miniſter, poſſeſſed of great abilities and judgment, with a diſpoſition at the ſame time for buſineſs, and a degree of integrity not very common among men in his ſituation of life, conceived the deſign of receiving a revenue from America.—Unfortunate as he was in the Stamp Act, he certainly was fertile in expedients beyond any of his predeceſſors; and in his death, the nation ſuffered a loſs, which it is not likely to recover.

Mr. Grenville thought it reaſonable, as it unqueſtionably was, that America ſhould make ſome compenſation to the Mother Country for the very heavy expences incurred in a war undertaken for her defence.—He had the mortification to find himſelf miſtaken, and he retracted, on perceiving his error, as became a wiſe and good man.—This, it has been ſaid, was another error; and we hear it every where echoed by the friends of Adminiſtration, that the repeal of the Stamp Act has occaſioned this formidable oppoſition in America.

It is not my intention to reflect on the wiſdom of thoſe who recommended that meaſure: I ſhall only obſerve, that it is extremely indecent, as well as unjuſt, in the preſent Miniſter to ſeek an excuſe for his blunders, in the conduct, be it good or bad, of other men. If Mr. Grenville was reprehenſible, what

what muſt the adviſers of the Tea Act deſerve, who ſinned with their eyes open? At all events this war might, and ought, to have been avoided: it was folly in the extreme to engage in it; and, as an addition to our diſtreſs, it appears to be as badly conducted abroad, as it was wantonly began at home.---We have upwards of one hundred ſail of ſhips of war, and cannot *effectually* block even one port.---The Americans trade with France and Holland, not only in Europe, but in their Colonies.---Philadelphia, in particular, has had a conſiderable and unintermitted commerce the whole of laſt year.---We had no cruizers in the Delaware till the ſummer was almoſt expired; and when Lord Howe was informed of their great trade, he replied, it was a matter of no conſequence.---The other provinces have ſent out merchant veſſels and privateers; the former have returned richly laden in ſafety, and the latter have harraſſed our Weſt India trade, and interrupted our military ſupplies.

Encouraged by their ſingular good fortune, they have proceeded to eſtabliſh a naval force, and two of their largeſt frigates have failed to intercept our homeward-bound India ſhips.—The whole Continent ſeems animated with one ſoul; nor is the cultivation of land neglected. Though they have become ſoldiers and ſailors, agriculture is yet attended to, and France receives the rice, corn, and tobacco, which were formerly ſent to England.—The Court

of Verſailles have indeed aſſured Adminiſtration, that they will not aſſiſt the Americans; but the nation at large is left at liberty to act as it pleaſes.——The French themſelves trade with impunity to America, eſpecially to Philadelphia, Boſton, Baltimore, and Charles-Town, South Carolina *; nor can we prevent them but by a declaration of war.—The laſt treaty of peace has given them an opportunity to impoſe upon us, and they add inſult to injuſtice.—Eager as the Miniſtry were for concluding a peace, at all events, in the year 1763, and to render it as permanent as poſſible, they laid the foundation, if not of an immediate rupture, at leaſt of continual diſcord; and this they would have perceived, if avarice had not unhappily rendered them as inattentive to their own duty, as they were to the honour and intereſts of their country.—France ought to have been excluded the right of fiſhing at Newfoundland.—It furniſhed her with the only means of recruiting her exhauſted navy.

It was at once a nurſery for ſeamen, and an inexhauſtible ſource of riches.—At this inſtant it furniſhes her with an excuſe to ſupply the Americans. They enjoy all the advantages of a war, without feeling

* There arrived at Charles-Town, between the 1ſt of December, 1776, and the 27th of January laſt, twenty-three ſail of French merchant veſſels from Martinico, and Hiſpaniola.

feeling its inconveniences; and we have to engage both ſecret and avowed enemies.—If their veſſels are detected, even in an American port, they immediately plead diſtreſs; they are all bound to Miquelon, but *contrary* winds, and *bad* weather, have reduced them to the neceſſity of ſeeking a *ſupply of proviſions*, or to get their veſſels *repaired*.—They urge the law of nations, as well as of humanity, in their favour, and very *modeſtly* enquire if you would have them *periſh at ſea*, becauſe you are at war with your Colonies *. With this plea they eſcape the puniſhment due to their treachery and falſehood, and America is abundantly ſupplied with ammunition and cloathing, notwithſtanding the poſitive aſſertions to the contrary.—Our navy, however, would not have obſerved much delicacy with them, if the commanders of our ſhips had not been *privately* inſtructed to be extremely cautious in their conduct towards the French; and it is owing to the unpardonable timidity of Adminiſtration, that France has dared to aſſiſt America, and that a little deſpicable iſland, rendered inacceſſible half the year by ice, ſhould pretend to more commerce, in the depth of winter, than the firſt trading port in Europe.

The Dutch and French aſſiſt the Americans as far as they wiſh, except publicly avowing their cauſe;

* Theſe queſtions are inſtantly propoſed to the officer who boards them.

cauſe; yet the Miniſter confides in their aſſurances to the contrary.

If his religious faith is as enormous as his political one, he will certainly be ſaved in the next world, though his credulity may perhaps ſubject him to damnation in this.——The Repriſal, of 16 guns, belonging to the Congreſs, and commanded by Lambert Weeks, a man of approved bravery and prudence, who would do honour to any ſituation of life, was at Nantz laſt ſummer, and afterwards, at Chriſtmas, expreſsly with Meſſ. Franklin and Dean, who were ſent on an embaſſy to Paris from Philadelphia.

The ſame ſhip engaged, and abſolutely beat off, his Majeſty's ſloop the Shark, of ſuperior force.--- The engagement happened in ſight of St. Pierre's, in Martinico, and the inhabitants were evidences of our diſgrace.---Capt. Weeks, after the engagement, went into Port Royal, and the commander of the King's ſhip had the imprudence, to ſay nothing worſe of him, to wait on the French Governor, and inſiſt on his delivering up the rebels *.

This

* Capt. Chapman was informed, by the Governor of Martinique, that he could by no means conſider the Americans as *rebels*, nor ſhould he attend to any *political* diſtinctions that *we* made.—It was his duty, he ſaid, to prevent hoſtilities under cover of his guns, and the law of nations obliged him to ſhew protection

This extraordinary requeſt, and from a man who ought to have known better, from his ſtation, was very properly refuſed, and he had the mortification not only to be denied, but to be laughed at for his folly and ignorance.———Laſt June we ſuffered a defeat ſtill more important and diſgraceful.---The Briſtol, of 50 guns, and the Experiment, of 40 guns, ſome frigates, and a bomb, with ſome land-forces,

protection alike to the *Royaliſts* and *Americans*.—At this inſtant Capt. Weeks came up, and, underſtanding the converſation, aſſured Capt. Chapman that his application was totally unneceſſary, as he ſhould certainly proceed to ſea almoſt immediately. The King's officer, confounded, and unable to make any reply, retired in confuſion to his boat; after which he ſent an expreſs to Admiral Young at Antigua, who diſpatched the Seaford, Capt. Colpoys, and the Hawke, Capt. Cooper, with directions to get the particulars of this extraordinary affair, and to intercept the Repriſal. The former cruized off the Bay of St. Pierre's, while the latter went in, and, as a matter of *curioſity*, rather than of *duty*, endeavoured to obtain the deſired information. But the ſtratagem was too groſs for the French, and the ſhips returned without their errand. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Capt. Chapman would have continued with the Repriſal, eſpecially as he had ſent intimation to his Admiral of his ſituation, but this he declined; nor did he indeed wait for an anſwer to his expreſs. Yet this gentleman is continued in his command, though his principal officers left him in diſguſt, at his behaviour upon this occaſion; and one of them abſolutely offered to board the Repriſal in an open boat.

With what complaiſance is the miniſter forced to treat the military, and how carefully does he endeavour to conceal diſagreeable facts from the public!

forces, went to South Carolina.---The fleet was commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and the troops by Lieutenant-General Clinton, between whom there was a diſagreement, which rendered the expedition uſeleſs. * It was neceſſary the ſhips ſhould take out their guns to paſs over the bar, after which

* This unfortunate fleet, deſtined to meet with nothing but diſaſters, ſailed from England in the very depth of a very ſevere winter, and under orders extremely different to what were obſerved, and which, in reality, were never executed. It was Summer before they arrived on the coaſt of America; and as it was neceſſary, for the refreſhment of the troops, that they ſhould have a reſpite from fatigue, they remained at Cape Fear three weeks, in which time their *ſecret* expedition became *public*, and Charles-Town was prepared to receive them.

After this delay, they ſailed to the ſouthward, and having arrived off the harbour, they waited three weeks before they paſſed the Bar; by this time every thing was arranged for a vigorous and obſtinate defence; but as a proof of the great contempt with which the Americans conſidered this *formidable armament*, they gave a ball at Charles-Town the very night of the attack; and a gentleman who was ſent on board the Briſtol under a flag of truce, with an anſwer to a requiſition which had been made, entreated Sir Peter Parker to be *as expeditious as poſſible, as he was under an engagement to eſcort a lady to town, with whom he had promiſed to dance.*

Sir Peter Parker is unqueſtionably a man of reſolution; and having no other ideas of duty or qualification in a naval officer, but *courage and ſeamanſhip*, he ruſhed, contrary to the advice of Captain Morris, who alone appeared ſenſible of the danger and folly to which they were expoſed, to a very unequal and unneceſſary combat. It would certainly be for the credit, as well as

which it was imagined they would have attacked Charles-Town, as the poſſeſſion of that harbour is of infinite conſequence to us: in fact, it is to the homeward-bound Jamaica fleet, what Gibraltar is

to

as for the intereſt of the nation, if men of abilities were ſent on thoſe particular ſervices, where prudence and capacity are as eſſential as that ſtupid inſenſibility, which is too generally conſidered as courage.

Sir Peter Parker certainly had no occaſion to attack this fort; the poſſeſſion of it was not neceſſary to obtain Charles-Town; and I cannot poſſibly find any other excuſe for this wanton ſacrifice of ſo many lives, but in his ignorance and obſtinacy. Our troops were inactive ſpectators of our defeat at a convenient diſtance on ſhore; and, notwithſtanding the General and Commodore mutually accuſe each other, they have both been honoured with his Majeſty's particular attention. The former has been made a Rear Admiral, and appointed to command at Jamaica, though it had been determined to make no Flag Officers till after the deceaſe of Mr. M'Kenzie; and the latter has been complimented with a Red Ribband. The promotion of the one was not intended as a reward for *important ſervices* performed, but in conſequence of the honorary diſtinction paid to the other. To prevent Sir P. P. from *murmuring*, the King very *prudently* gave him rank, or perhaps a *train of ſecrets*, would have appeared to the aſtoniſhment to the world, and not much to the credit of Government.

Mr. Graves is another melancholy inſtance of the extreme condeſcenſion to which Majeſty is at this time reduced, and of the ſhameful neceſſity of temporiſing with the moſt contemptible men in the kingdom. This man, without any of the properties of human nature, except walking upon two legs, was appointed to the command in America, from whence he abſolutely returned in diſgrace; but he knew the ſituation of the Miniſter, and how *inconvenient* it would be to him to call Mr. Gage to an

account.

to the Mediterranean; but, to the aſtoniſhment of all the world, this force was directed againſt a fort on Sulivan's Iſland, unworthy of their notice, and of little advantage had they carried it. This iſland is extremely low and flat, as is all the country from Auguſtine to New-York. The fort which they attacked is built with cabbage-trees and ſand-earth; and during the action had only nine men killed, and eleven wounded, and even theſe by their fooliſhly jumping out of bravado on the works. The Briſtol came

account. The Admiral availed himſelf of this advantage by the advice of his friends, (for he had not capacity to diſcover it himſelf) and talked loudly of vindicating his *honour*, by inſiſting on a court-martial. The matter was inſtantly dropped, and he not only obtained a triumph, but claimed, *in return for his ſervices*, the command in the Mediterranean, which has been as *chearfully* given to him, as it was *impudently* demanded. Through the invincible ignorance and negligence of Admiral Duff, we had nearly loſt Quebec and all Canada. This old man, on being told the ſituation of the garriſon, by an expreſs ſent to him at Newfoundland for aſſiſtance, replied, "*Let thoſe look out who have got the watch!*" An anſwer well worthy of an officer entruſted with the preſervation of a part of his Majeſty's dominions! This gentleman, it is ſaid, has been promiſed a command, and, no doubt, for HIS *vigilance* and *activity*. In the like manner Capt. M'Cartney eſcaped, that Lord Dunmore ſhould not be brought to an account, nor have the hiſtory of his curious proceedings in Virginia revealed to the public.

A detail of facts may, however, yet appear, with an accurate relation of his Lordſhip's *ſingular liberality*, at the expence of Government, previous to his *abdication*, or rather to his *expulſion*; for if there is any thing that the Americans deteſt more than a King, it is the diſgraceful repreſentation of one.

came to at ten in the forenoon with a ſpring upon her cable, at the diſtance of ſix or ſeven hundred yards from the iſland, where ſhe lay till nine at night, and was obliged to haul off, after having loſt her captain and forty men, with her rigging and mainmaſt cut to pieces. The Experiment ſuffered a conſiderable loſs, and was alſo obliged to haul off.

The frigates ran on ſhore, and one of them * was deſtroyed, though it was almoſt certain ſhe might have got off with very little trouble: the captain of her, as is uſual, was tried by a court-martial for the loſs of his ſhip; but his judges were alſo *captains*; and, as theſe gentlemen ſeldom make an example of any of their own corps, he eſcaped the puniſhment due to his negligence and miſconduct. He had ſent his ſecond lieutenant to the commodore, to know if it was not adviſeable to burn her; but he was too impatient to wait the return of the officer, and ſet fire to her the inſtant he had ſecured his *own* effects, and which were the only things that were ſaved. We may form an idea of the confuſion of this gentleman's mind, by his leaving his guns loaded when he abandoned his ſhip to the flames, the ſhot of which abſolutely ſtruck the Experiment, and moſt probably killed or wounded ſome of her people; yet this man was not only acquitted, but

* The Actæon, a new ſhip of 28 guns, and ſcarce a twelvemonth old.

appointed to a larger frigate on his return to England! Previous to these misfortunes, a small fleet from Rhode Island, commanded by Mr. Hopkins, attacked the Island of New Providence, dismantled the fort, and brought off its guns, stores, and Governor, with which they returned to New London, and in their way attacked the Glasgow of twenty-four guns.

In the course of last summer, the Boston and New England privateers alone, took upwards of seventy sail of sugar ships, besides victuallers and transports.

They even proceeded to cruize in the English Channel; and the Falmouth Packet, bound with the mail to New York, was attacked within two hundred leagues of the Land's End, by a schooner of eight guns, and lost her captain and five men.—An inconsiderable number of their privateers have, indeed, been taken; but they have, at this instant, one hundred and forty sail, exclusive of their Continental ships, which amount to 34 sail; and these will always find a sufficient shelter in their bays, creeks, and inlets, with which we are totally unacquainted, and into which it is impossible our frigates can follow them.

We have been told, that the Americans are cowards, and will not fight: how far this censure

is

is founded in truth. I will leave to be proved by those who have reproached them with pusillanimity.

It is neither their interest, nor their intention to *attack*, but to *oppose*. It is a defensive war they make on shore, and the only war that can answer their purpose, without foreign assistance. This truth has not reached Administration, or at least they have disregarded it; and, indeed, this war throughout appears to have been singularly distinguished from all others, by a series of disasters and misconduct.

If it is intended to attack Charles-Town, we have been guilty of an unpardonable oversight in suffering the season to pass away, in which we could hope to succeed. The winter in South Carolina affords that degree of heat which best suits with European constitutions.

The summer is intensely hot, and an expedition in July will be attended with as much mischief from the climate, as from the enemy:—fluxes and fevers are the diseases of the country:—they are, in fact, epidemic; and the difficulty in recruiting an army at such a distance, should render us extremely cautious how we expose our troops to distempers that are often fatal. The idea of the Americans taking up arms, was at first a subject of merriment. Administration affected to ridicule it; and, not content with laughing at it themselves, they employed a crowd

crowd of penſionary ſcribblers to ridicule it in print. This tranquility, however, very far from being real, was aſſumed for the purpoſe of deceiving the multitude, and ſucceeded beyond expectation. The military, in particular, became dupes to the artifice, and our officers conſidered a voyage to America as an excurſion of pleaſure, till they were convinced of their miſtake at Bunker's-Hill; accuſtomed to diſcipline themſelves, they could not conceive it poſſible, that a number of peaſants would venture to engage regular troops; nor could they ſuppoſe, that men ſhould be able to pull a trigger, who had never been at drill.

They forgot that the manœuvres of the parade are in a manner uſeleſs, or at leaſt diſregarded in the field, and that enthuſiaſm is almoſt always equal, and has often been ſuperior to diſcipline and regularity.

They marched to attack the rebel lines with all the gallantry peculiar to their profeſſion; and ſecure of victory in the ignorance of their adverſaries, never ſuſpected the conſequences that followed.—I will paſs over in ſorrowful ſilence the melancholy hiſtory of that unfortunate day, on which we loſt, through prejudice and negligence*, the flower of our little

* In the hurry and confuſion of that day, nine-pound ſhot were ſent for ſix-pound field-pieces, by which means the artillery were found uſeleſs.

little army. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that it was the deareſt, and perhaps the moſt uſeleſs victory, that the Britiſh arms ever obtained.

It laid the foundation of a new empire, againſt which we are already obliged to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and notwithſtanding our troops have performed wonders, though they have encountered the utmoſt difficulties with uncommon fortitude, and flown to conqueſt with more than Roman ardour, yet what has the ſacrifice of ſo much blood and treaſure produced?

We have got New-York and Rhode-Iſland, where we are neceſſarily compelled to keep garriſons; and, excepting Canada and Nova Scotia, we have no other land in America. It is neither eaſy to ſubdue an extent of country of 1000 leagues, nor very practicable to preſerve it; and if we are obliged to leave troops in every town we reduce, the Miniſter will find the aid of 20,000 Ruſſians extremely neceſſary, if he means to proſecute the war with a proſpect of ſucceſs; and even in this reſource, there are dangers againſt which it behoves him to guard.

The mercenaries, in whoſe intrepidity we have had the utmoſt confidence, have by no means anſwered our expectations. Their form of diſcipline differs ſo much from ours, that it is almoſt impoſſible they can act in conſort with our troops. At

Kingſbridge

Kingſbridge, and at the White-Plains, after we had taken poſſeſſion of New-York, they refuſed to march without their cannon in front, and abſolutely retreated, by which means our light infantry were cut to pieces *.—More intent upon plunder than conqueſt, they rob and inſult indiſcriminately friends and foes.—They have even dared to proceed to the extremes of barbariſm; and women no longer find a ſecurity in their ſex, from the luſt and inſolence of theſe human ſavages †.

Outrages like theſe are unpardonable under any circumſtances; and upon this occaſion, we ſhould certainly be careful how we deſtroy every poſſibility of an accommodation with men, who are, at all events, entitled to the rights of humanity.

Injuries of this nature are never forgiven. They call loudly for vengeance; and all mankind have an intereſt in revenging the cauſe of a few. The abuſes and irregularities of theſe foreigners have been complained of; but it was replied, they would become uſeleſs the moment they were refuſed the privilege of plundering; and rapine, of courſe, is tolerated, to the ſcandal of the Britiſh arms ‡!

From

* The Commanding Officer of the foreign troops was obliged to make an example of one of them by ſhooting him on the ſpot.

† Nineteen women were raviſhed in the Jerſeys laſt December.

‡ Sir William Howe complained to General de Heiſter of the enormities

From one error of Government, others in abundance have followed; but the greateſt error was that which reduced us to the humiliating neceſſity of engaging mercenary troops, to recover by *violence* what was loſt by *folly*.

It was imagined at firſt, that the Americans would never preſume to oppoſe a military force, and that a few regiments would intimidate them into a compliance with every meaſure of the Miniſter. They were afterwards reproached with cowardice and ingratitude; to the former of which they have replied by a vigorous and ſucceſsful defence of Charles-Town; and as to the latter, it is applicable only to individuals.

We might have reclaimed theſe people, but the opportunity is loſt for ever, and we never can ſubdue them. This rebellion, as it is called, and which has not yet, in appearance, occaſioned one ſerious thought among us, is of infinite more conſequence to the nation than the one in the year 1745. The latter, in fact, only concerned the ſecurity of *one* man, who can have no claim to our protection, than while his intereſt is connected with

 that

enormities of theſe Free-Booters, who replied, that he would, out of his private fortune, make good the injuries they had done, as far as he was able; but that he could not refuſe them the right of plundering, nor iſſue orders to the contrary.

that of the public; and when I wiſh that the liberties of this country may paſs unimpaired to the lateſt poſterity, and that they may ſurvive all families and factions, I ſhall not, I hope, be accuſed of diſaffection to the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover, whoſe right to the Britiſh Throne is founded on the moſt ſacred of all Rights—*The* FREE *choice of a* FREE *people*. The adventure of the Pretender, (for it is ſcarce worthy of being called an invaſion, as the courſe of a century will reduce it to the level of a romance) was, however, ſerious enough to excite a general conſternation throughout the kingdom.

All degrees of men were concerned; but their concern aroſe from their attachment to the beſt of Princes, whoſe ſecurity alone, and not that of the people, was endangered.

It was their unaffected love for their Sovereign that excited their fears. They had nothing to apprehend from ſucceſs of the adventurer but a change in the *firſt magiſtrate*, and this change would not have produced any other in the ſtate, as he would not, (aſſiſted as he was by France,) have attempted to diſturb the religion and laws of a nation always jealous, and always mindful of their rights; and who had, by decapitating his Great Grandfather, and expelling his Grandfather, had given a perpetual admonition to Kings, that they have heads to loſe, whenever

whenever they wantonly invade the liberties of their ſubjects. The fate of his unfortunate family would have been a leſſon of advice to him, and at leaſt have detered him from acting contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the country; the obſervance of which he muſt have made the invariable rule of his conduct, unleſs he preferred being a penſioner of France to the ſovereignty of the Britiſh Empire.

If then an attachment, merely perſonal, to the Prince, ariſing from the reſpect due to his virtues and rank, could occaſion ſo unanimous a concern for his intereſt, how much greater muſt that concern be, which has for its object the firſt of all human obligations—THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY?

Having wandered undeſignedly from the original purport of my letter, I will take a view of the ſituation of this country at the time of the Revolution, in 1688. It has been obſerved, (and not unjuſtly, in my opinion) that there is a lucky moment in every man's life, in which he may eſtabliſh his future fortune and happineſs. The ſame obſervation may be applied to States, and this country furniſhes us with a proof of it. The liberties of which we pretend to boaſt an uninterrupted enjoyment from the date of Magna Charta, have been a conſtant ſubject of panegyric on the intrepidity and patriotiſm of our anceſtors; but they were, in a great meaſure, deal, till the ſecond James abdicated, when we

obtained the poſſeſſion of them for a moment, and in that moment loſt them. That period was to the nation, what the moment I have already mentioned is to an individual, and abundantly proves, that ſtates are as inattentive to their true intereſt, and ſometimes as inſenſible of it as men.

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a regular hiſtory of our Parliament, nor to examine the outrages which have been committed by the various tyrants who have ſwayed and diſgraced the Engliſh ſceptre. It is not my deſign to dwell on the inſolence and barbarity of Henry the Eighth. The furious zeal of his fanatic daughter, Mary, whoſe reign was a continued ſcene of the moſt abominable cruelties; or on the deſpotiſm of her ſiſter Elizabeth. Henry the Eighth governed his ſubjects with almoſt as little decency as he governed his wives. He treated the former, with leſs ſeverity, indeed, than the latter; but for this they were under no obligations either to his humanity or juſtice. If they had poſſeſſed but one neck, the wiſh of Caligula would have been realized, and they would have ſhared the fate of Ann Bullen.

The Parliament, at that time, had little authority; and the Commons, in particular, were obliged to comply with the inſolent and exorbitant demands of their Sovereign. Charles the Firſt, though leſs wicked, and leſs reſolute than Henry, treated

treated his Parliament with equal diſreſpect, and would have been equally ſevere, but the temper of the times were different. The Commons began to feel their own weight, and aſſerted their conſequence; the iſſue of which, it is well known, was the deſtruction of their King, and afterwards of themſelves. The very people who puniſhed tyranny in Majeſty with death, ſubmitted to it afterwards in a Protector; not indeed without murmuring, but altogether without redreſs.

Charles the Second, taught by the melancholy and recent example which had been made of his Father, and under apprehenſions from the nation, which was not abſolutely reconciled to the reſtoration of his family, had recourſe to artifice to obtain what he had neither ſtrength to acquire, nor fortitude to attempt by force. Prodigality humbled him to the miſerable condition of a penſioner of France, and the repreſentatives of the people were penſioners to him.

They, however, either unwilling or unable to ſupply his neceſſities, refuſed to ſupport him in his extravagance, and they were diſſolved. This ſtep alone would have produced a civil war, but they were unwilling to revive the murders and deſolation which prevailed in the former reign; and this imprudent, though legal exerciſe of the Royal prerogative, was ſubmitted to without oppoſition.—

James

James II. might have eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne, if an indiſcreet zeal for that church which afterwards abandoned him in his diſtreſs, had not hurried him to attempt the change of the eſtabliſhed religion, at a time when the gloomy and rigid tenets of a variety of ſects, differing from each other, and only united in an unconquerable averſion to the Church of Rome, had armed the generality of his ſubjects with the fortitude of martyrs.

I come now to that period, which gave us a momentary poſſeſſion of Freedom—the moment which rendered our ſlavery inevitable, though remote, and which has in part occaſioned this unfortunate and impolitic war.

At the time that James II. abdicated the Throne, England was left to itſelf, and at full leiſure, to repair the defects of the moſt beautiful ſyſtem of human government. The nation was conſiderably enlightened, and religion no longer furniſhed an excuſe to cruelty and perſecution to deſtroy mankind.

Intent only on the preſervation of their liberties, the people purſued no other object; but it is our misfortune that they did not render them, if not invulnerable, at leaſt more permanent.—A revolution ſhould have no other object than to repair the miſchiefs of the former government, and to correct bad laws; becauſe it is ſeldom effected without the effuſion

ſion of blood, and the ruin of individuals. But here a revolution was accompliſhed, without the horrible neceſſity of a civil war, and no advantage obtained; but the expulſion of a particular family, which had proved, upon a variety of occaſions, its ſingular incapacity to govern a free people.—The Parliament, at this time, had acquired a degree of ſtrength, which enabled it to diſpoſe of the kingdom as it thought proper, and a ſtranger was invited to the regal dignity, not ſo much for the ſecurity of the kingdom, as for that of the Proteſtant intereſt.

He landed, not as a friend, but as an enemy, ſecure of victory, with a conſiderable army, and marched immediately to the metropolis, and inveſted the palace.

We were the only nation which had condemned its Sovereign to death by law.---Aſſaſſination and poiſon were the means by which the multitude revenged themſelves of tyrants, throughout the world, while England alone proved that Princes are amenable to juſtice for their conduct.---The recent fate of Charles the Firſt, and the expulſion of James the Second, did not contribute to inſpire the Prince of Orange with much confidence in our ſincerity.---He thought us inconſtant in our attachments, and violent in our reſentments; and judged it neceſſary to guard againſt men ſo liable to change, and from whom he had nothing to expect

but

but Death, or Baniſhment, if ever he incurred their diſpleaſure.——He was not of a diſpoſition to depend upon the affections of mankind alone.

He was ſenſible that convenience and neceſſity govern them, and he endeavoured to make it their intereſt to ſupport him.---In this he ſucceeded; but the meaſures he adopted for the purpoſe muſt ultimately ruin this country.---The landed property was the power the moſt obnoxious to him, and which he dreaded the moſt. It was, therefore, his care to oppoſe this power, by another; and what is at preſent called the monied intereſt, was eſtabliſhed. This new power afforded him a greater ſecurity than he could expect, even in a ſtanding army.---The national taxes became mortgaged, and a ſpecies of commerce was introduced, which gave riſe to a ſpecies of gaming, which together have ruined thouſands, and by which Jews and adventurers only are benefited, while the whole country beſides is oppreſſed.---The Crown by this means became in a great meaſure independent of the landed property, and a ſyſtem of corruption was introduced, which has given it an alarming influence over the repreſentative part of the nation.

I cannot conceive it a matter of the leaſt conſequence, whether the King governs abſolute, *with* or *without* a Parliament.---The preſervation of the latter may mean perhaps nothing more than a compaſſion

paſſion for our prejudices, and, conſidering it as the effect of *royal pity*, we ought to be *grateful* for the favour!---I ſhall not, however, be complaiſant enough to reſt ſatisfied with the *ſhadow*, when I am entitled to the *ſubſtance*; nor thank a man for preſenting me with ſpectacles, after having deſtroyed my eyes.

The different Miniſters, ſince the period of which I have been ſpeaking, have laboured with unwearied diligence to cultivate the doctrine of Funds, and we are now become a nation of ſtock-jobbers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſecure of the monied intereſt in his favour, may propoſe what land-tax he pleaſes; and this fatal invention of anticipating the public revenues, muſt inevitably terminate in the deſtruction of public liberty.

However, it is not my intention at preſent to enter particularly upon the dangerous influence which the Miniſter has obtained over the repreſentatives of the people. I ſhall return to the ſubject of America, and examine the extraordinary conduct which has been obſerved, both at home and abroad, in the proſecution of this iniquitous buſineſs.

This is a war by which contractors may be enriched, and the power of the Crown enlarged and eſtabliſhed; but the one will impoveriſh the nation,

and the other deſtroy its liberties. It is not impoſſible, but the preſent generation may live to ſee Acts of Parliament give way to *Royal Edicts*, and the will of the Sovereign become the law of the land; and, when I conſider the proceedings of Government within theſe few years, I am inclined to believe that deſigns of this nature have already been formed, and the readineſs with which Proclamations have been iſſued, looks as if ſomething more was expected from them than what they *ſpecifically* expreſs, or than the conſtitution allows. The ſame obedience has been expected to be paid them as to the laws, and if ever this obedience ſhould be exacted as a *duty*, the forms of Parliament will no longer be neceſſary to give the ſtamp of currency to the Royal pleaſure.

Proclamations will then become edicts in fact, and the frequent publication of them may, in all probability, mean nothing more than a preparative to abſolute monarchy, to which we ſeem travelling with wonderful expedition. The contempt, however, with which they were received in the caſe of the printers, was ſufficient to have deterred any reaſonable man from another attempt; but it ſeems a trial of their virtue was to be made beyond the Atlantic, and Major-General Gage was intruſted with the important commiſſion,

It is needleſs to repeat the fate of his Excellency's endeavours to ſerve his friends in England: unhappily for both, the fatality that has attended the latter, accompanied the former, and he was as heartily laughed at in Maſſachuſetts, as the other had been in London.---We are unacquainted whether that *ingenious* and *pompous* production was manufactured at *St. James's* or *Boſton*. The author has very diſcreetly concealed himſelf, which proves at leaſt that he has ſome regard for his character.---The only thing that could have rendered it either effectual or uſeful was omitted, not altogether through deſign, but from an abſolute and invincible ignorance of human nature.

If Meſſ. Hancock and Adams had not been excepted, we ſhould have avoided the horrors of a civil war, into which we have been wantonly, and, I may add, wickedly plunged; neither ſhould we have been reduced to the humiliating and diſgraceful neceſſity of ſubmitting beyond the patience of cowardice itſelf, to the repeated inſults of France.—The people in America were bound in honour to ſupport the men who had ſtood forth, in the moment of danger, in defence of their rights; and thoſe who imagined they would abandon them to the rancour of Government, muſt have judged of their principles by their own.

Notwithſtanding the royal proclamation had been ridiculed in England, and treated with contempt in Boſton, another effort was made, but with equal ſucceſs, at New-York, and Lord Howe ſuffered himſelf to be deceived into an experiment, which, he muſt have known, would prove uſeleſs. The Miniſter, by this time, had diſcovered his error, and was willing to correct it.—This proclamation * contained no exceptions; but the opportunity in which it might have been ſerviceable, was loſt.

It was now too late—A mutual appeal had been made to the ſword, and it was not likely the Americans would abandon a conteſt with every proſpect of ſucceſs before them. The *ſeverity* of the firſt proclamation could only be equalled by the *folly* of the laſt.—The one was a heterogenous compound of threats and promiſes, which, being diſregarded, was enforced by a fleet of one hundred ſail, and an army of thirty thouſand men, who, agreeable to their profeſſion, and the inſtructions they had received, ſpread deſolation and ruin wherever they went, but they could not excite terror.—Their cruelties ſerved only to invigorate the uplifted arm of the undiſciplined peaſant, and inſpire him with fortitude. —This force, however, has only been able to obtain a very inconſiderable tract of country: and the Miniſter, ſuſpicious at laſt perhaps of the abſolute impoſſibility of ſubduing three millions of people, publiſhed

* The Proclamation publiſhed laſt November at New-York.

publiſhed the laſt proclamation, promiſing pardon to all, without diſtinction, who would ſurrender before the expiration of ſixty days.

This feigned lenity was neither a proof of his clemency nor wiſdom, but of his timidity and ignorance.

This proclamation, ſo different from the preceding ones, breathed nothing but the language of humanity and reconciliation.—The inſolence of prerogative, and the pride of power, were carefully avoided, and it rather reſembled a *Petition for Peace*, than the *voluntary* and *unmerited* bounty of an inſulted Prince to his *diſobedient* ſubjects, in actual rebellion. —Even Lord Howe was conſcious of the diſgraceful meaſure that had been forced upon him, and contented himſelf with barely printing the proclamation, regardleſs of its diſtribution.---I can venture to affirm, from my own knowledge, that it was not read ten miles from New-York, except by the army or navy; and thoſe who did read it, very far from confiding in the Miniſter's ſincerity, conſidered it only as an effort to conclude a buſineſs, which muſt, in the end, terminate in his deſtruction, or perhaps in the ruin of his country.---Is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that, after irritating, by oppreſſion, the Colonies, to revolt; and, after having menaced them with the penalties of rebellion, that he would, with a conſiderable force, at his abſolute command, and in the very heart

heart of their country, relax in his ſeverity, if he had not been doubtful of victory?

He tells us, that he certainly can ſubdue them. Why then interrupt the military operations, or unſolicited offer them a pardon? They expreſſed no wiſh to return to their allegiance; but, on the contrary, were fortifying Philadelphia, and making every neceſſary preparation for a vigorous defence, determined as they are to vindicate their rights to the laſt moment of their lives.

But what idea muſt Europe have of either our capacity or conduct upon this occaſion? The firſt proclamation was publiſhed when we had neither a fleet nor army in America, and proſcribed the ringleaders (as they were called) his Majeſty's pardon. The ringleaders, however, and their aſſociates, very far from being intimidated by this extraordinary manœuvre, or rather royal menace, formed to themſelves the grand deſign of erecting a ſeparate government, and actually commenced hoſtilities.

They abſolutely obliged the King's troops to evacuate Boſton, which they have ſince fortified in a manner which will require our united force by ſea and land to recover it. They fitted out privateers, and they have continued in a ſtate of rebellion, without either even *wiſhing* or endeavouring to effect a reconciliation, but upon terms which we will not

not accept; yet notwithſtanding this aggravation of their offence, the Miniſter, at the expiration of two years iſſues another proclamation in his Maſter's name, in which he promiſes forgiveneſs to the very men whom he had, in the commencement of the buſineſs, excluded, and who are certainly leſs objects, at this time of the Royal favour, than they were at firſt. In the name of goodneſs, how are we to account for this unpardonable inconſiſtency, but in the Miniſter's conſciouſneſs of his own weakneſs, or rather incapacity, to accompliſh what he has undertaken? There was a time when an impeachment would have followed ſuch a conduct.

The honour of the Sovereign, and which is of infinite more conſequence to us, the intereſt and dignity of the nation are ſacrificed; but the extravagance of the Miniſter, it ſeems, is only on a level with the profligacy of Parliament, and the acquieſcence of the people exceed both.

This *petition for peace*, as I ſhall call it in future, looks, however, as if his Lordſhip was apprehenſive, for his future ſafety, and was willing to provide for his ſecurity at all events. The emergency, I hope, is at hand, which will require the full exertion of his boaſted abilities: and as he will not be able to evade his guilt, ſo it is my firſt and firmeſt wiſh he will not be able to eſcape the puniſhment due to it.

Awakened

Awakened from his delirium by the danger of his ſituation, and viewing with horror and apprehenſion the dreadful precipice on which he totters, he is at laſt ſenſible of the miſchief he has done, and anxiouſly ſolicits peace from the very people whom he has injured and inſulted; but the Americans are not of a temper to retract; they equally deſpiſe the inſolence with which he denounced war againſt them, and the meanneſs with which he ſolicits peace.

They ſee through the diſguiſe, and will guard as cautiouſly againſt his cunning, as they have hitherto done againſt his violence.

Unconditional ſubmiſſion was the language of adminiſtration, and every preparation was made to obtain it. Foreign aid was called in, and the moſt abject requeſts made to the different powers of Europe, if not for their aſſiſtance, at leaſt for the total excluſion of all commerce with America. Holland with great difficulty was prevailed upon to publiſh a placart, forbidding the exportation of gunpowder for a limited time, under certain reſtrictions. I ſay with great difficulty, as I ſpeak with certainty, and know the trouble which Sir Joſeph Yorke had to obtain even that favour.

France was equally complaiſant, and the more effectually to deceive the Miniſter into a belief of her

her ſincerity, offered 20,000 men. Portugal went a ſtep farther, and abſolutely denied admiſſion to the Americans into any of her ports; and this condeſcenſion is not extraordinary, when we conſider her obligations to the Britiſh Court, and her dependance on it for protection. Her raſhneſs, however, has been already puniſhed in part, by the ſeizure of two Brazil ſhips, and it is not improbable but ſhe may find herſelf engaged in a war with America in the courſe of twelve months.

Holland has long ſince withdrawn the prohibition. She exports powder and ammunition in abundance to Surinam, St. Euſtatia, and Curacoa, from whence the Congreſs ſhips fetch it; and the French, leſs ceremonious than the Dutch, not only receive American veſſels in the Weſt-Indies and Europe, but trade with them in their own bottoms; and, if detected upon the coaſt, have an excuſe which effectually preſerves them from being ſeized.

The Falcon ſloop of war took a French ſchooner going into Georgia laſt ſummer, and releaſed her at the preſſing inſtance of Lieutenant General Clinton, who was then at Cape Fear, under an idea, that the capture of her would occaſion a rupture between the two courts. Laſt February the Governor of Martinique ſent a frigate to Antigua, to demand of Admiral Young the immediate reſtoration of a French veſſel, which had been ſeized, and which was ac-

cordingly releaſed. Lord Mansfield has alſo recommended it to his particular friends in the navy, not to meddle with the French upon *any* conſideration, and theſe ſufficiently prove, to what a humiliating condition we are reduced.

From the progreſs of our arms hitherto, we have no reaſon to expect that America can poſſibly be conquered; and it is now become a queſtion of importance, to enquire how long it will be adviſeable to proſecute a war, which exhauſts our riches, and injures our commerce, without the ſmalleſt proſpect of advantage in return.

The pride of conqueſt and vanity of empire may ſtimulate us to attempt the recovery of our colonies, but all views of intereſt, with reſpect to commerce, are at an end, and we may repent hereafter of not admitting their independence, and of not making a treaty with them, while they were diſpoſed to unite with us. This union is adviſeable in every political view, and however alarmed we may be at the idea of acknowledging the independence of America, it will, perhaps, be found the happieſt event that could poſſibly happen for the Mother Country. The influence which the Crown already poſſeſſes, is too obvious to be either diſputed or denied: it would be impertinent indeed to attempt the proof of it, after the King has dared to diſmiſs a general officer from his military employment, for

a conſcientious diſcharge of his duty in a legiſlative capacity *, or when the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury ſends his mandate, without ceremony, to the returning officers of venal boroughs, to return the candidates of his appointment. This influence is already more than ſufficient to alarm even a moderate man; but what it will be if America ſhould be reduced to obedience, is a queſtion that comes home to every man's breaſt.

It is not what a Prince *will do*, but what he *may do*, that we are to guard againſt, and to hold our rights at the pleaſure of the Crown, is a tenor as diſgraceful as it is inſecure. The moment that the colonies are ſubdued, will be the æra from whence we may date the final deſtruction of conſtitutional freedom. A bad Prince, ſhould it ever be our fate to have another, may then in ſafety avow his intentions, and hold oppoſition at defiance; he may venture, without danger, to aboliſh the uſe of parliaments, and unite the executive and legiſlative authorities. But America I truſt will never be conquered, and perhaps the beſt and only ſecurity that we have for *our* liberties, is in the virtue and intrepidity that prevails in that country.

The alacrity with which the army and navy have embarked in this war, has been matter of ſurprize to ſome, and of offence to others; but the aſtoniſhment ceaſes the moment we recollect the advantages

 that

* General Conway in the caſe of General Warrants.

that have been held out to them, and which were ſufficient to ſeduce men leſs neceſſitous, and better acquainted with the rights of mankind. A forfeiture of American veſſels preceded hoſtilities; and this ingenious expedient, authoriſed by Act of Parliament, inveſted the captors with the ſole property of all ſeizures. It was this intereſt alone that determined them to decide in favour of Adminiſtration.

The certainty of enriching themſelves, rendered the navy extremely zealous; and in proportion as they were ſucceſsful, they became vigilant. Had this excitement been withheld, there would have been leſs captures; and it is no unreaſonable conjecture to ſuppoſe, that the proſpect of *preferment* and *wealth*, convinced them immediately of the *equity*, as well as of the *policy* of the war, they were to wage againſt human Nature, and particularly againſt the Conſtitution of their Country.

The military of all nations are too apt to loſe ſight of the obligations they owe to their country, and to think their ſervices due only to the Prince, to whoſe diſcretion and fidelity all military arrangements are entruſted.

Excluſive of this conſideration, it frequently happens that men educated under martial law, have no other ideas of government than what they receive from the articles of war, which exact implicit obe-

dience.

dience. Detached as they are from their fellow-citizens, and under the influence of particular laws, it is not at all extraordinary that they ſhould be leſs anxious for the preſervation of thoſe privileges from which they derive no immediate benefit. Their intereſt is diſtinct from that of the people, or at leaſt they have been artfully thought to believe ſo; and in proportion as they become numerous, the Prince becomes formidable; and hence ariſes the great danger of having a ſtanding army in a free ſtate.—I differ very much with General Burgoyne, when he aſſerts, that ſoldiers ſhould always truſt the juſtice of the war in which they engage, to the conſcience of their country, which, in fact, means nothing more than the conſcience of their Sovereign. There are certain occaſions on which an appeal to their judgment from the deciſion of the Chief Magiſtrate is juſtifiable, and upon no occaſion more than the preſent. The haſty determination of the Miniſter to involve one half of the empire in a war with the other, would have juſtified deliberation on their part; and the *cauſe*, as well as the *object* of the war, requires this deliberation.

It is not a conteſt with a rival nation jealous of our power, and anxious to reduce it and advance their own, but with three million of our fellow-ſubjects oppreſſed by laws which they conſider ſubverſive of conſtitutional liberty.

Here

Here the ſoldier has an abſolute right to the free exerciſe of his opinion, notwithſtanding his particular engagement to the Prince; but the Friends of Government, as they call themſelves, have a wonderful facility in explaining away the rights of the people! This is a conteſt for liberty on the part of the Americans; and if the military in the reign of Charles the Firſt had been as implicit and obedient as the military of the preſent times, we ſhould ſtill have remained under the dominion of the Stuarts; but they conſidering their duty to their country *ſuperior* to every other obligation, took a deciſive part againſt their Sovereign, which brought him at laſt to the ſcaffold, and reſtored peace to the empire. This uſeful and inſtructive part of our hiſtory, however, ſeems to have been entirely forgot, or the diſgraceful complaiſance of the army has, perhaps, encouraged the Miniſter to expect its ſupport upon every occaſion, and to uſe them at his pleaſure whenever violence becomes neceſſary to enforce his meaſures.

Indeed the alacrity with which he called in the aſſiſtance of foreign troops, gives us ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe, that if they ſhould ſubdue America, they may be invited to the ſame buſineſs here.

The neceſſity to which Charles was reduced, afforded him an excuſe to introduce foreign troops; but it was an expedient which he did not think prudent

dent to embrace. The experiment was too dangerous to attempt, as it might be made uſe of to anſwer either a good or a bad purpoſe, and deſtroy the confidence of thoſe that adhered to him. The Miniſter, however, of our day, grown bold in iniquity, and deriving confidence from the facility with which he manages the repreſentative part of the nation, diſdains even the authority of Parliament, and garriſons the moſt important of our fortreſſes with foreign mercenaries, and tranſports 20,000 of them to America to dragoon the unhappy natives into an abject ſubmiſſion to his pleaſure. The ſubſidy which is paid for them, is unqueſtionably a very ſeaſonable relief to the neceſſities of their maſters, whoſe chief ſupport ariſes from hiring out theſe human butchers for the horrid purpoſe of maſſacreing their fellow-creatures; and the proſpect of plunder is a ſufficient temptation to men who plead no right but the right of the ſtrongeſt, and who live by rapine: but how will the Miniſter anſwer it to his conſcience, or his country, when the ſpirit of the nation awakes from its lethargy, is a queſtion not eaſily anſwered, and which it behoves him to conſider.

I hope to ſee the day when the people, in juſtice to themſelves and their poſterity, will not only require, but *inſiſt* upon ample vengeance on the guilty authors of our public calamities, however exalted by rank, or however ſecured by the forms of law. The diſpute is become too ſerious and im-

portant

portant to be trifled with much longer, unleſs we mean to make a ſurrender of our liberties to the Prince, and, in imitation of the Swedes, prefer the tyranny of *one* man to that of a multitude.

America has been cenſured for her early declaration of independence; and the Miniſter has availed himſelf of the occaſion to juſtify his proceedings, and to preſerve the people in good humour at home; but while he holds forth the abſolute neceſſity of ſubduing her, he very prudently conceals the ſecret, and, I may add, diſhonourable means, by which he endeavours to recover her. While ſhe is threatened with all the ſeverities and cruelties of war *in England*, a different language is held beyond the Atlantic, and the reſtoration of charters, with a general pardon promiſed to all without diſtinction or reſerve, with a number of other conceſſions, which neither correſpond with his Lordſhip's conduct nor declarations.

This inconſiſtency, or rather duplicity, has anſwered no other purpoſe than to deſtroy the little confidence which remained among thoſe who call themſelves the Friends of Government; and if they had been ſtrong enough to have diſputed the right of territory with General Waſhington, I am firmly perſuaded that the King's troops would have been driven out of New York laſt November.

It

It is well known how that proclamation, or rather how that *petition for peace* was received. The Royaliſts exclaimed againſt it as unjuſt and oppreſſive:—The Americans laughed at it, and made it ſubſervient to the purpoſe of viſiting New York * in ſafety, and of eſcaping with their veſſels through our fleet in the Delaware †.

Is this the boaſted intrepidity of the Miniſter? (ſaid the Royaliſts) And is he at laſt reduced to the abject neceſſity of promiſing the royal pardon to the very men who have oppoſed the whole power of Britain, and treated with the higheſt contempt every overture for accommodation?

* Several came into New-York in conſequence of this proclamation, for the purpoſe of procuring intelligence, with which they returned to Philadelphia. A Mr. ———, in particular came in, and General Robinſon inſiſted on his leaving the town, as he would not receive his ſubmiſſion. I do not know that the General had a diſcretionary right to oppoſe and contradict the proclamation, but he exerciſed that power on ſeveral occaſions.

† A brig was taken by the Falcon ſloop below Ready Iſland, laden with flour, lumber, and ſtock. The maſter of her immediately claimed the protection of the King's Officer; declared he was bound to New-York, and was happy in an opportunity of acknowledging his allegiance. He was ſuffered to proceed, and arrived with his cargo, without any other interruption, at St. Domingo, in Hiſpaniola, from whence he returned in equal ſafety to Philadelphia.

Are they to be reſtored to their poſſeſſions, after having wantonly deſtroyed our property, and impriſoned our perſons, and are we alone to be the ſufferers? To be guilty is to be ſecure, when the innocent only are puniſhed; and, in the preſent ſyſtem of politics, we find loyalty is treated as a crime. As far as rebellion affects the public peace, the Sovereign can forgive it; but when it proceeds to injure individuals, the law has very juſtly given them a right to redreſs; and this right, thank Heaven, is beyond the reach of Kings!—Such was the language of the inhabitants of New-York: and if the proclamation had produced the deſired effect, Parliament would have found it neceſſary to have paſſed an act of inſolvency expreſsly for the occaſion, and of a very ſingular and extenſive nature.

However, the unanimity of the Americans to reject every propoſition from the Mother Country that does not admit of their independency, has happily enabled us to avoid this neceſſity.

This temporiſing is as impolitic, as it has been unſucceſsful, and will always be found impracticable with men who conſider the love of their country as the firſt of all human obligations.

In the preſent inſtance, it has the appearance of timidity, and may be excuſeable from the particular ſituation of the Miniſter; but the Americans regard it

it as an abſolute proof of his inability to reduce them; and while he endeavours to recover them, upon terms ſo diſgraceful to himſelf, and ſo prejudicial to his country, he will loſe the affections of his friends, without obtaining that of his enemies.

From the ſucceſs of our military operations hitherto, we have no great reaſon to triumph.

The victory obtained by the King's troops on Long Iſland, reflects no extraordinary credit either on their courage or diſcretion. Their number exceeded the Provincials, and the heavy and inceſſant fire of the ſhips enſured their ſafe landing.

The policy of enticing the enemy out of their lines, by the ſham retreat of a ſmall part of our army, while General Howe marched round to cloſe in on their rear, was what enſured him ſucceſs on that day; but the retreat of the Americans to York Iſland, was a piece of generalſhip infinitely beyond it, and which might have been prevented, if a univerſal confuſion had not prevailed, in which ſome of our people killed and wounded each other by miſtake, while others *amuſed* themſelves with point blank ſhooting at about 200 of the Provincials, who had, in their diſorder, retired to a moraſs, and who, in vain, ſolicited that mercy which formerly diſtinguiſhed Britiſh ſoldiers!

This extraordinary retreat of the Provincial army, and which was accompliſhed without the loſs of a man, was matter of ſurprize to General Howe and his brother, who were totally unacquainted with the manœuvre. The conqueſt of New-York, which followed ſoon after, was of much leſs importance in itſelf, as well as from the bad management that enſued, than has been generally believed.

The poſſeſſion of that city was unavoidable, from its peculiar ſituation; and any attempt to defend it after our ſhips had paſſed it, muſt have proved fatal to Mr. Waſhington. He retired to the lines at Kingſbridge, where a variety of attempts were made to ſurround him, and one in particular, in which our army was landed on an *Iſland*, from whence it was near three weeks before the error could be corrected that had been committed.

The next expedition of our troops was to the White-Plains. The reſult of which furniſhed the Gazette at home with no extraordinary matter for triumph.

It was here where the Heſſians abſolutely refuſed to advance without their cannon, and where our light infantry ſuffered ſo conſiderably. From thence the major part of the Americans effected a ſafe and ſecret retreat to the Jerſeys, where they formed to oppoſe our progreſs towards Philadelphia. This

retreat

retreat was alſo matter of ſurprize to us; and Mr. Waſhington gave another proof that it was very poſſible for a man to be an able General without having a piece of parchment, ſigned by his Majeſty from the War-Office. The hiſtory of our diſaſters in the Jerſeys has been faithfully given to the world, except the unpardonable negligence of almoſt all our officers, who were abſent at New-York on their pleaſure, without leave, and the whole conduct of the troops left to the care of Lord Cornwallis.

The affair of Trenton, and ſeveral other unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, however, obliged them to leave the gaming-table for the field; but the reſtoration of diſcipline to our army was productive of no event in our favour. Flying parties of the enemy traverſed the country at their pleaſure, and three hundred of them approaching to Shrewſbury, and even in ſight of the Syren, Capt. Furneaux, at Sandy-Hook, attacked and defeated a party of the Provincials who had declared in favour of Government.

The guardſhip, as ſhe is called, is extremely convenient to the Americans, who, under a pretence of being harraſſed, and driven from their houſes, requeſt a conveyance to New-York, and ſometimes do the Captain the favour of ſtaying with him a few days to obtain intelligence. His predeceſſor, Captain Ayſcough,

Ayſcough, whoſe fame has been chaunted in Wapping ballads, had that important ſtation all the ſummer to communicate Lord Howe's orders to ſhips as they arrived, and to furniſh them with pilots; neither of which were punctually performed, eſpecially the latter, and ſeveral veſſels ran on ſhore in conſequence of this neglect. Few ſhips were accommodated with pilots, and thoſe that were, had, in general, ſeamen belonging to the Swan, who were, perhaps, the favourites of Captain Ayſcough, and who were ignorant of the buſineſs they had undertaken. In this manner has the ſervice been treated; and tranſports with proviſions, after having made the land, but unwilling to enter where they were unacquainted without a pilot, have been taken by privateers, in ſight even of the light-houſe.

Indeed this Gentleman was as inattentive to his own ſecurity, as he was to that of others: his own ſhip was frequently in a very defenceleſs ſituation; and, if her deſtruction had been an object of any conſequence, it might have been eaſily accompliſhed. With an army in the Jerſeys, and a reſpectable garriſon at New-York, we cannot be ſaid to be in the abſolute poſſeſſion of any territory, except what our troops actually occupy. General Howe was obliged to withdraw his forces from Staten Iſland; and ſcouting parties continually carry off cattle, though it is but five miles

miles from New-York. Thoſe who profeſs allegiance to his Majeſty, do it from motives of convenience alone, and only where they are intimidated to it by ſuperior force. In fact, the King has no ſubjects in that country but his troops; and for every individual that ſubmits to him, he muſt furniſh a ſoldier, to preſerve him in ſubjection, and that loyalty which is acquired and maintained by the bayonet, is not worth keeping.

If we are to garriſon every acre of land that we ſubdue, and which we abſolutely muſt, if we mean to derive any benefit from it, it will require a greater force than the Miniſter can obtain, notwithſtanding the boaſted aſſurances of ſupport from the Continent.

Mr. Waſhington is certainly in a condition to prevent our progreſs beyond the Delaware this year, except our force ſhould be divided, and ſent into the bay of Cheſeapeak; and this experiment would not be very prudent. As to Charlestown, it is too well defended to apprehend any danger; it will fall only with America. It is fortified on the land ſide by an encampment of 12,000 men and a moraſs; it is equally ſecure towards the ſea, and the ſhip that attempts to paſs the town muſt unavoidably be expoſed to the ſhot of ſeventy pieces of cannon, which can be brought to bear on a ſingle object. Every wharf is ſecured, and

the

the forts in Rebellion Road and on Sullivan's Iſland may bid defiance to our naval force.—As to their commerce, it may ſuffer this ſummer, if our frigates are active, and allowed to be at ſea; * but the Americans are prepared for the worſt, as their induſtry has exceeded that of the bees, in providing for a long winter?

They will, however, have a conſiderable trade from our ignorance of their coaſts. They have harbours of which we are totally uninformed, capable of receiving veſſels of 300 tons burthen, and where their privateers remain ſecure, and watch the approach of our ſhips, without the poſſibility of being ſeen by them.

This ignorance of the ſea-coaſt of America is another reproach to Government, particularly to the Admiralty, whoſe immediate province it is to obtain marine ſurveys.

During a peace of fifteen years, we ought certainly to have had accurate draughts of the harbours and rivers belonging to ourſelves; but the ſurveys of Meſſ. Holland, Des Barres, and Cook, extend no

* From the time we were in poſſeſſion of New York till the end of October, all our frigates and ſmall ſhips, except three or four, were lying inactive at an anchor off the town, while the Americans were carrying on a lucrative and uninterrupted commerce.

no further to the ſouthward than Rhode Iſland, and to Newfoundland to the northward. The Surveys of de Brahm, which might have been uſeful, have been made a preſent to the Congreſs by that Gentleman, who had very ingeniouſly contrived a ſcheme to preſent them with the Cherokee armed ſchooner, which was allotted to him for the duty he was employed on, but which miſcarried by an accidental diſcovery of his intentions †.

Inſtead of ſending veſſels at an enormous expence upon uſeleſs diſcoveries, in order to flatter the vanity of ſome men, and provide for the deſpicable recommendations of others, ‡ it would have been for the intereſt of the nation, if Mr. Cooke had been employed to ſurvey the coaſt from Boſton to Charles-town.

He might then have done eſſential ſervice to his country, and have a much better right to the fellowſhip of the Royal Society than any ridiculous deſcription of New Zealand or Otaheite can give him. This man ſeems deſigned by nature for no other purpoſe; take him out of a ſhip, and you abſolutely annihilate him.

* This veſſel was at Charles-Town in South Carolina.

† The contemptible dependants on a yet more contemptible Lord of the Admiralty, as diſtinguiſhed for his ſingular good fortune, as for the meanneſs and avarice of his diſpoſition, have, indeed, benefitted by theſe voyages, but not the public.

His ſurveys at Newfoundland are accurate and uſeful, and on that ſervice only he ought to be employed; but it ſeems the diſcovery of ice iſlands, in the latitude of ſixty degrees ſouth, and the importation of an ideot, a mere animancula, is of more importance to Great Britain than a perfect knowledge of her own territories! It is not my intention to dwell on this diſagreeable ſubject; I may on a future occaſion, perhaps, be induced to examine the utility, as well as propriety of theſe voyages, which have anſwered no one good purpoſe to this country.

From the ſituation of our affairs at preſent, what proſpect have we in the proſecution of this expenſive war but ruin? It has already revived the dormant claims of German Princes, whoſe inſolence will encreaſe in proportion as we are neceſſitated to ſolicit their aſſiſtance. An annual expenditure of half a million for the maintenance of foreign troops, in whom we can place no confidence, and who have done us no material ſervice. The decay of trade, and the interruption of commerce, which we cannot prevent, with the domeſtic extravagance of the Royal Family, the vote of credit of another million in adddition to the liberal ſupply of Parliament for the war, and our critical ſituation at preſent with France and Spain, certainly require the moſt ſerious attention; but the Miniſter, fortified as he is with placemen and penſioners, proceeds in his dangerous career, as if he was determined to try the very extent

of

of parliamentary profligacy; and, indeed, the patience of the people not only juſtifies the experiment, but authoriſes him to proceed to the very ſummit of political wickedneſs. But if, at all events, America muſt be laid waſte, (for conquered it never will be); if the frivolous politics of a frivolous reign, regardleſs of the national honour, muſt be ſupported againſt the dictates of Humanity and Reaſon;

If a ſeries of blunders are to be continued and enforced by the ſword, and the intereſt, as well as honour of the nation, ſacrificed to pride, obſtinacy, and ignorance—let the murders and deſolation that prevail in one part of the empire become general, that the authors of our calamities may not eſcape unpuniſhed for the miſchiefs they have occaſioned. —*Fiat juſtitia*, &c.

FINIS.

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